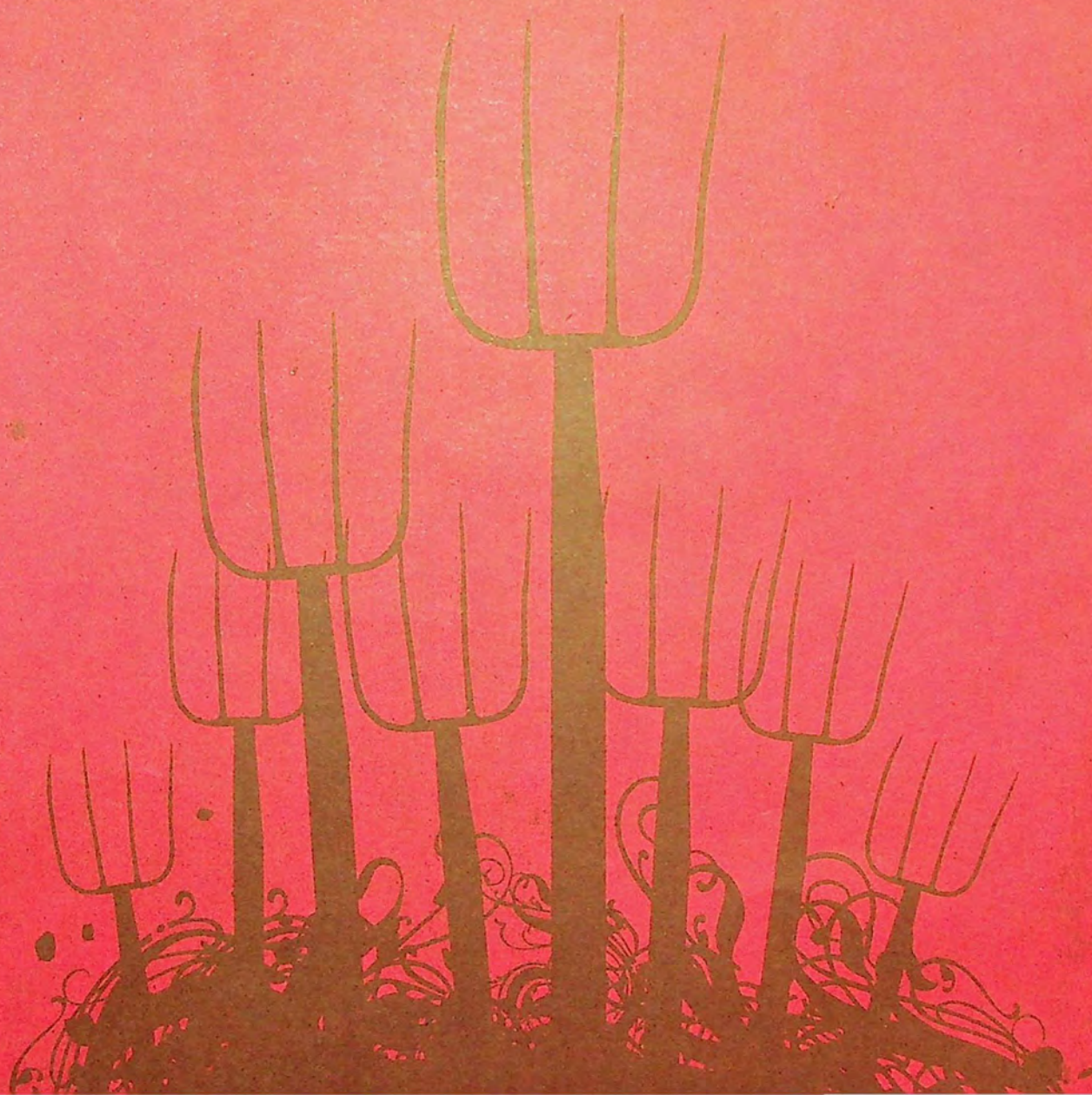


Luigino Peressini

Carli Pup

1511 il FRIÛL
de JOIBE GRASSE



2. S. 10.36/24

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+2 c.g. alligate

BIBLIOTECA CIVICA

"V. JOPPI" DI UDINE

COLL. 2. S. 10.36/24

Tescj di Carli Pup
Traduzion par inglès Jessica Purkeypyle
Ilustrazions e mape Luigino Peressini
impaginazion ★

Stampe La Tipografica srl
Basaldella di Campoformido (UD)

Edizion Serling soc. coop.,
v. Volturmo 29, 33100 UDIN
distribuzion v. Ziraeco 32,
33047, Remanzàs (UD)

tel. e fax +39 0432 64 91 31

coop@serling.org

www.serling.org

ISBN 9788890414022

Finit di stampà ai 24 di Fevrâr dal 2011

Biblioteca di Udine - Sede Centrale
1511 : Il Friûl de Joibe grasse

2.S.10.36/24

526921

J10M0734798





A close-up detail of the title page of the Voynich manuscript, showing the large, stylized number '1511' in white ink on a red background. The number is part of the title '1511 Voynich Manuscript'.

IL FRIGLO
DE JOIBE
GRASSE



Les communautés
rurales a revendication
la leur autonomie e
se battra pour
leur droits.

JENTRADE

Il test che o vês cumò pes mans nol è e nol à nancje chê di jessi un libri di storie. Il so intindiment, adun cu la mape di Luigino Peressini, al è di fâ cognossi in maniere gjoldibile i ponts di fonde che a son daûr dal riviel de Joibe Grasse dal 1511, cu la sperance di stiçâ la voie di savê inmò di plui su chest episodi impuartant de storie dal Friûl.

Il librut, compagn de mape, plui che vê un principi e une fin precîs si pues lei in plui di une maniere. I diviers cjapituluts che lu componin a cirin di svilupâ in curt chês che si pues calculâ di peraulis clâf par fevelâ de insurezion furlane dal 1511. Si puedin duncje lei cuntun ordin diviers di chel proponût achi e ancje di bessôi, cundut che a son leâts tra di lôr.

Cumò che si à sclarît chescj aspiets, al reste dome di augurâus buine leture e di invidâus a pierdisi inte mape par ricjatâ cussì un toc de nestre storie.

L'autôr

INTRODUCTION

This particular text is not and ought not to be considered a history book. Its purpose, along with the map created by Luigino Peressini, is to simply expose in a pleasant way the basic elements that characterized the revolt of Fat Thursday in 1511. The intention is to stimulate the desire to learn more about this important episode in Friuli's history.

The booklet, just like the map, does not have a real beginning and end, but can be read in various ways. The chapters that make it up try to synthetically develop what we could define as key words tied to the 1511 Friulian insurrection, and despite being connected to one another they can be read individually and in a different order with respect to the one proposed.

This having been said we hope you enjoy the reading and persuade you to let yourself be carried away inside the map in order to retrieve a piece of our history.

The author



IL FRIÛL DE JOIBE GRASSE DAL 1511

Ai 27 di Fevrâr dal 1511 – tal di de Joibe Grasse – al tache a Udin il plui grant riviêl populâr de storie dal Friûl. Si trate di une insurezion che e ven calcolade la plui impuartante de Rinassince intes tieris che vuê a son dentri dal stât talian e la prime des gruessis rivoltis populârs che a scjassin la Europe centrâl intal secul XVI.

Daûr dal riviêl de Joibe Grasse si ân diviersis causis che si incrosin tra di lôr. Di une bande a son lis tensions sociâls che a jerin daûr a montâ bielzà di timp, di chê altre si à la faide tra lis fazions dai Strumîrs e Çambarlans. Chestis dôs situazions a vegnin esasperadis inmò di plui de vuere in at jenfri la Republiche di Vignesie e l'Imperi.

Si ben che, ta chescj cinc secui, il riviêl dal 1511 al sedi stât ricuardât plui voltis dai croniscj e dai storics di chenti, al è dome tai ultins agns che si à cirût di superâ lis versions lassadis dai croniscj di chê ete par lâ plui a fonts inte ricercje des resons che a son daûr de rivolte e de suaze economiche, politiche e sociâl di chei agns. Ce che nus mancje par vê un cuadri plui precîs dai fats, dut câs, e je la vôs dai protagoniscj anonims di chel riviêl – i contadins e i popolans furlans – che e rivoche une vore di lontan dome in cualchi conte populâr.

THE FRIULI OF THE 1511 FAT THURSDAY

The 27th of February, 1511 – Fat Thursday¹ – not only marks the beginning of the greatest revolt in Friuli's history in Udine, but also what historians consider the greatest popular insurrection of the Renaissance on those lands that are today part of Italy. In addition, it is the first among the greatest peasant revolts which shake central Europe in the 16th century. The reasons of this revolt shall be attributed to a variety of causes and situations. On one hand the social tensions that had been growing for some time, on the other hand the feuds between the Strumieri and the Zamberlani. To further worsen the situation, the war between

the Republic of Venice and the Empire. In the last five centuries Friulian historians have recalled the 1511 revolt several times, but only in recent years has there been an attempt to divert from the common versions passed on to us by trying to dig deeper into the causes of the rebellion and into the economic, political and social frames of that historical period. What we are lacking in order to have a more accurate overview of the facts, however, is the version of the anonymous protagonists of that rebellion – the Friulian peasants and townspeople – whose distant echoes are found but in a few popular tales.

1 Fat Thursday is the last Thursday before Lent



LIS TENSIONS SOCIÂLS

Intal 1420 la Republiche di Vignesie e rive a conquistâ il stât patriarcjâl furlan, ma par cuasi un secul la sô autoritât e reste malsigure prime pai tentatîfs dal patriarcje Ludui di Teck di recuperâ il so principât e po par chei dai Asbures di slargjâsi inmò di plui par di ca des Alps. Par evitâ gnovis tensions, Vignesie e decît di confermâ ai feudataris furlans e aes comunitâts locâls i stes podês aministratîfs e judiziaris che a vevin prime de conquiste.

Chel istès, ancje pe tindince des autoritâts venezianis a poiâsi su la nobiltât locâl par controlâ il teritori, la nobiltât feudâl furlane e à la pussibilitât di slargjâ i siei dirits intal esercitâ la justizie e i struments di pression su lis comunitâts rurâls. Dispès, di fat, i cjistielans a profitin de situazion par cjapâsi sù inte lôr jurisdizion i dirits di *mero et mixto imperio* di maniere di inressi i podês che a àn intal cjamp de justizie civil e penâl, o sei cu la pussibilitât di dâ fûr ancje condanis a penis corporâls e fintremai di muart.

Cussì, se tra il finî dal Tresinte e il prin tacâ dal Cuatricent i contadins furlans a vevin rivât a miorâ lis condizions dai acuardis par fitâ la tiere e a otignî plui tolerance tal câs di ritart intai paiaments, te seconde metât dal Cuatricent l'aument di podê otignût dai cjistielans adun cu la inressite de popolazion a sbassin la tolerance par cui che nol paie i fits e a fasin cressi i escomis. Al sucêt cussì simpri plui dispès che fameis che a vevin lavorât lis stessis tieris par agnorums a son obleadis a fâ Sant Martin. Ta chesecj agns, cun di plui, ancje intes citâts de Patrie cui che al rive des campagnis si cjate denant pidiments simpri plui fuarts par podê inviâ une cualsisei ativitât economiche. No si à po di dismenteâ il pês de politiche economiche veneziane che e

In 1420 the Republic of Venice is able to conquer the Friulian patriarchal state but its authority remains questionable for a long time: first as a result of the patriarch Ludovico di Teck's attempt to reconquer the lost principality, then due to the Ausburgs' eagerness to expand. To avoid further tensions Venice decides to grant Friulian feudal overlords the same administrative and judicial powers as before the conquest.

Despite this, Friulian feudal overlords are able to expand their rights in the execution of justice and place further pressure upon local rural communities also due to the Venetian authorities' predisposition to govern the territory by leaning on local nobility. Quite often, in fact, the lords take advantage of the situation to give themselves the right of *mero et mixto imperio* within their jurisdictions in order to increase their civil and penal judi-

SOCIAL TENSIONS

cial powers to the extent of ordering corporal as well as capital punishments.

While between the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century Friulian peasants were able to improve the conditions for renting and obtain greater tolerance in case of late or missing payments, in the second half of the 15th century the lords' increased power along with the population increase drastically reduced tolerance towards insolvencies and augmented layoffs. As a result, more and more families who had been working the lands for generations were suddenly



impedis il svilup di ativitâts concorenziâls su la tiereferme. Si prodûs cussì une crisi economiche e sociâl che vie pal Cincent e puatarà in Friûl lis primis formis stabilis di emigrazion. Une des cuestions plui cjaldis, ven a stâi chê dal scuintri jenfri proprietaris e contadins sul valôr dai lavôrs fâts dai fituâi par miorâ i cjamps, e ven sierade intal 1503 cuntune sentence a pro dai possidents. Intant a cressin ancje i tentatîfs dai cjistielans di slargjâ il lôr control su lis comugnis, ven a di lis tieris gjestidis in maniere coletive des comunitâts rurâls e che dispès a garantivin nivei minimis di sorevivence ancje aes fameis plui puaris.

Di là de impuartance dai elements economics, si à po di tignî a ments che i mudaments che la nobiltât e cirive di meti in at a levin a tocjâ in maniere direte chel sisteme di regulis, di normis tradizionâls, di dirits che a jerin la fonde primarie de struture e, duncje, de identitât di une comunitât. Rivendicâ e difindi i “dirits antîcs” al jerealore pes comunitâts rurâls furlanis la uniche maniere par difindi la lôr autonomie e la lôr identitât.

Ducj chesj elements a puartin a di un nivel di scuintri sociâl che al cres an dopo an. Intal 1508 un dai rapresentants de nobiltât furlane, Francesc di Strassolt, al declare che in cetancj lûcs de Patrie i contadins si dan dongje in grups di cincent, mil e fintremai doi mil di lôr e a menacin di “*taia a tocs prelâts, zentiloms, cjistielans e citadins*”. Ai 30 di Lui dal 1509 i contadins a dan l’assalt al cjistiel di Sterp e a fasin presonâr Nicolò di Colorêt e i siei oms. Tal Març dal 1510 un trop di nobii vuidât di Aluvîs Torian al rive a scjampâ par un pêl de vuata che un grup di contadins ur à preparât dongje di Çupicje.

forced to abandon them. At the same time, in the cities of Friuli those who came from the country ran into new regulations that forbade any kind of economic activity to those who were not from the city. Moreover, we must consider the orientation of Venetian economic politics that focused on hindering the development of competitive activities on dry land. This eventually yielded an economic and social crisis leading Friuli to the development of the first stable forms of emigration during the 16th century.

One of the greatest issues between owners and peasants—the value to be given to the improvements carried out in favour of the funds on behalf of tenants—comes to an end in 1503 with a sentence in favour of the owners. Meanwhile the lords’ attempts to extend their control throughout the “comugne” – lands collectively managed by rural communities – who often played a fundamental role in guaranteeing support to the poorest families also increased.

Aside from the economic aspect, we ought to consider that the changes the nobility tried to impose affected the system of rules, traditional norms and rights which made up the basic structure and consequently the community’s own identity. Claiming and defending “ancient rights” was therefore the only way Friulian rural communities could protect their autonomy and identity.

All these elements put together yielded a social conflict worsening year after year. In 1508 a representative of Friulian aristocracy, Francesco Strassoldo, stated that in many locations of the Region peasants gathered in groups of five hundred, a thousand and even two thousand, threatening to “*cut to pieces prelates, gentlemen, lords and townspeople*”. On July 30, 1509 the peasants assault the castle of Sterpo and seize Nicolò Coloredo and his men. The following year, in March, a small group of noblemen led by Alvise Della Torre barely escaped the ambush by a group of peasants near Zompicchia.



LA FAIDE JENFRI STRUMÎRS E ÇAMBARLANS

A cjavâl tra il Cuatricent e il Cinccent la nobiltât furlane si cjate dividude in dôs fazions: i Strumîrs e i Çambarlans. I prins a metin adun la plui part dai nobii de Patrie a tacâ di fameis tant che i Torians (o Turians), i Colorêts e i Strassolts. Si trate di clans che a àn possès e parincj intal Imperi, là che a cjatin ançe chês pussibilitâts di cariere che no àn invezit sot di Vignesie.

A àn la maiorance intal Parlament de Patrie dal Friûl e, duncje, a 'nt condizionin a fuart la ativitât. I Çambarlans invezit si dan dongje ator de famee Savorgnane, la plui siore dal Friûl e la uniche iscritte ae nobilitât veneziane, là che a gjoldin ançe di une cierte simpatie.

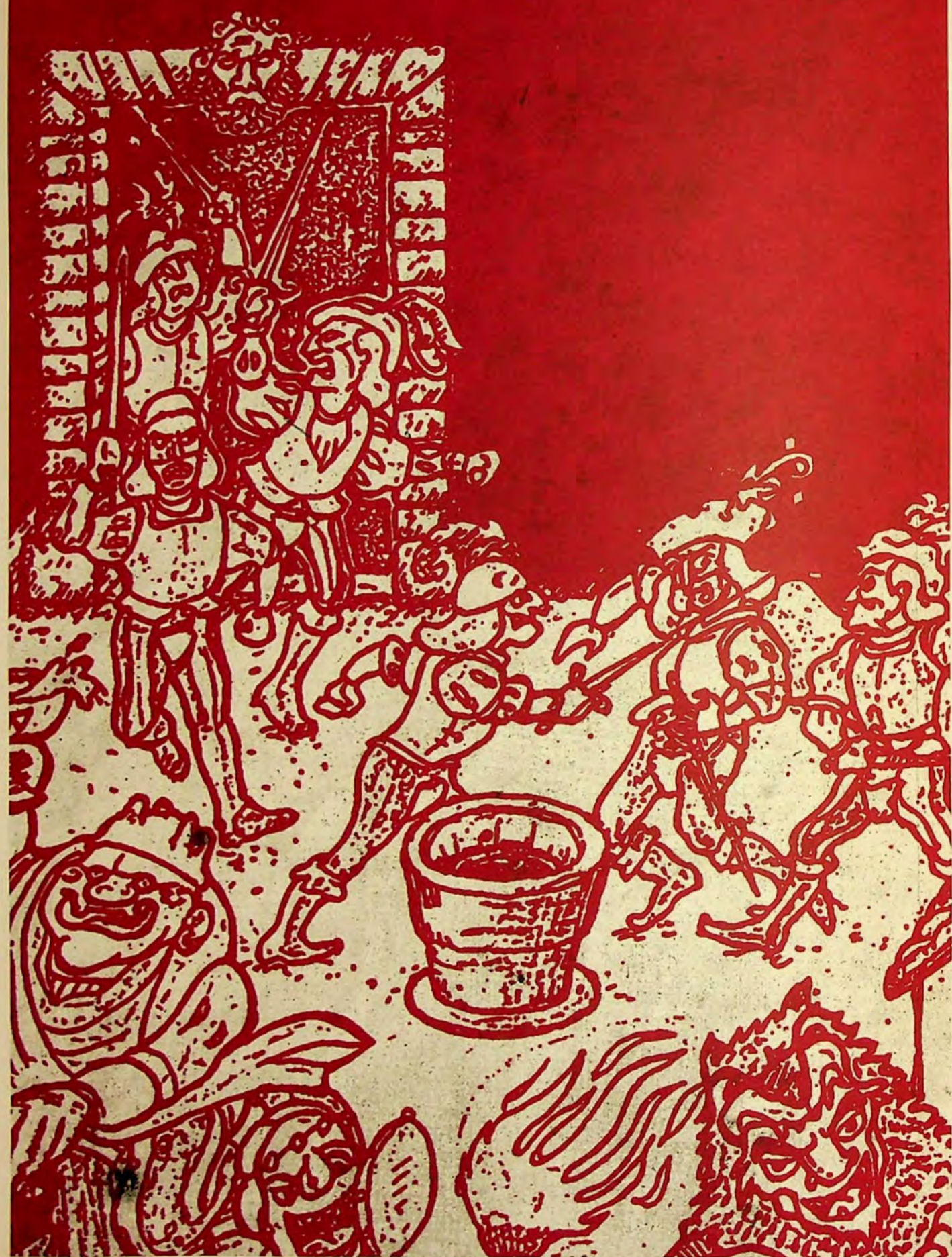
Cun chê di slargjâ la lôr influence su dute la Patrie, i Savorgnans a svilupin une politiche dinamiche, ançe dal pont di viste economic, che ju puarte a poiâ i popolârs e lis comunitâts rurâls intai scuintris cu la nobiltât feudâl. A son cussi in stât di controlâ il Renc di Udin e si ricjatin ançe a comandâ lis Cernidis. In plui che pes stemis che a puartin, Strumîrs e Çambarlans si fasin ricognossi cun jerbis, rosis e flocs puartâts sui vistîts.

Between the 15th and the 16th century the Friulian nobility splits in two: the Strumieri and the Zamberlani. The former gather the majority of the nobles of the Region starting with families such as the Della Torre, Colloredo and Strassoldo. These are clans who own property and have relatives in imperial territory where they can also find career opportunities otherwise denied to them by the Serenissima. They hold the

majority of the Parliament of Friuli and are therefore able to influence the activities. The Zamberlani instead depend upon the Savorgnan family, the wealthiest in Friuli and the only one to be part of the Venetian nobility where they can rely on various supports. While trying to take over the whole

THE FEUD BETWEEN THE STRUMIERI AND THE ZAMBERLANI

Region, the Savorgnan family develops some dynamic politics also from an economic point of view leading it to give its support to the working class and rural communities against the feudal nobility. Thanks to such politics they are also able to control the Arengo of Udine and obtain the com-



A fâ la difference al pues jessi ançe dome il fat che une rose e sedi metude a drete o a çampe, o che il façolet al sedi puartât intune maniere o intune altre. Massime te seconde metât dal Cuatricent lis autoritâts venezianis a cirin di proibî l'ûs di chescj simbui, ma cun pôc sucès. La stesce citât di Udin si cjate a jessi dividude tra Strumîrs e Çambarlans al pont che, in cierts moments, al è impussibil pai partidants di une fazion passâ par une strade controlade di chê altre part cence riscjâ la vite. Dut câs ançe i paîs plui piçui a puedin diventâ un lûc bon par scuintrâsi.

La faide tra chestis dôs fazions e scomence ancjemò in ete patriarcjine e si sierarâ dome tal 1568 cuntune grande cerimonie di pâs a Vignesie. La uniche leç che e somee regolâ i rapuarts tra Strumîrs e Çambarlans e je chê dal svindic che si lasse daûr une lungje schirie di muarts.

Cun di plui dispès al sucêt che lis misuris di bant dopradis par slontanâ dal Friûl i plui violents tra i partidants des dôs fazions a vedin dome l'efiet di slargjâ la faide ançe fûr dai confins de Patrie. Il moment plui dâr dal scuintri si lu à però cuant che la vuide dai Çambarlans e rive intes mans di Antoni Savorgnan (1457 – 1512).

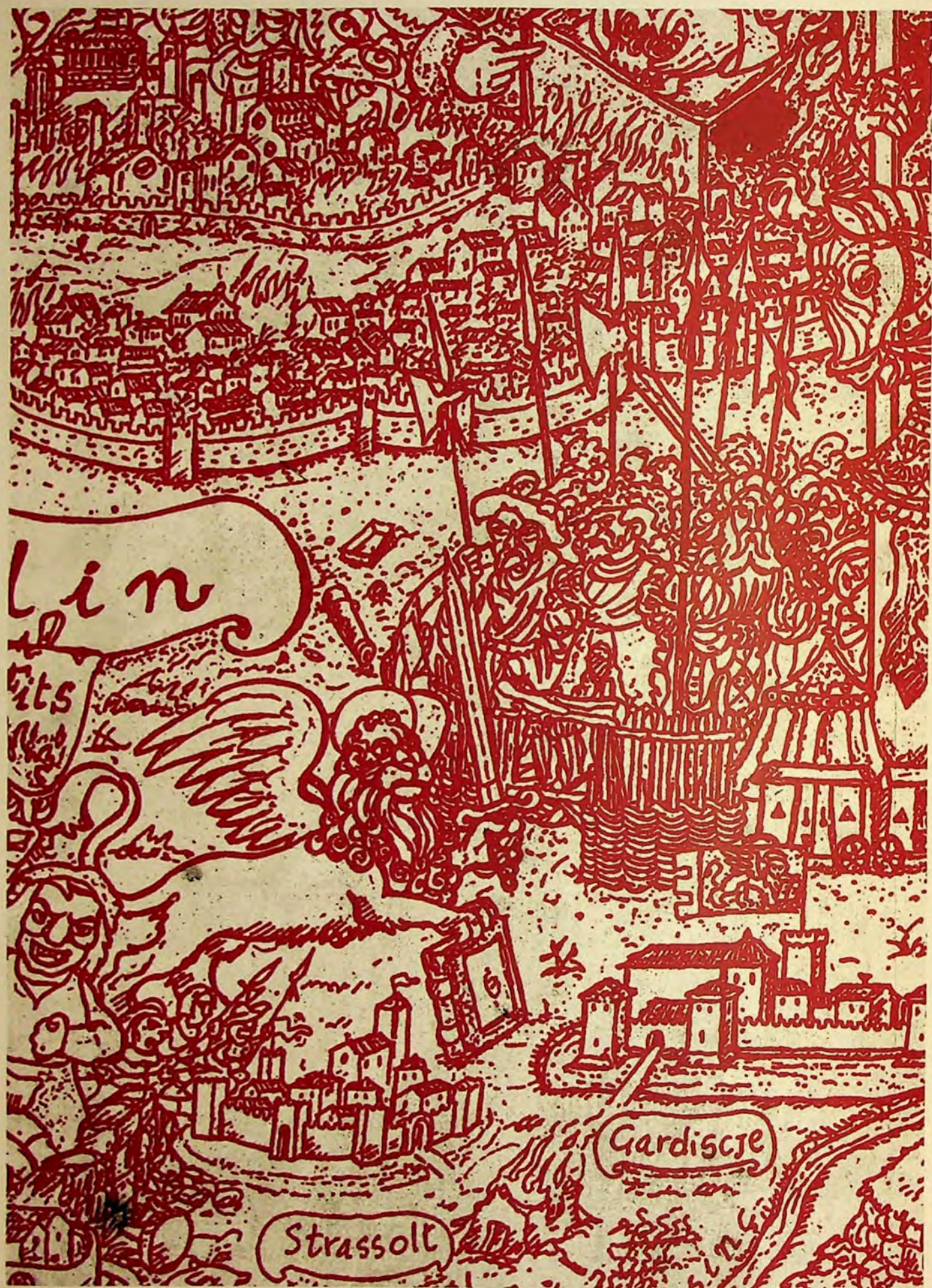
Chê jenfri Strumîrs e Çambarlans e je dal sigûr la faide plui lungje, plui sanganose e plui cognossude, ma no je la uniche che si à vude in Friûl. Cun di fat, dome par fevelâ de seconde metât dal Cincent, a Pordenon si cjatin denant dal scuintri tra la fazion vuidade dai Mantica e chê che e cjape dentri Ricchieri, Domenichini e Gregoris, intant che a Cividât si scuintrin lis dôs fazions vuidadis dai Manzans e dai Pups. La culture de faide e de vendete, di fat, e à vût une vite lungje in Friûl e no à cjapât dentri dome i clans nobiliârs, ma ançe lis comunitâts rurâls.

mand of peasant troops. Aside from the badges they wear, the Strumieri and the Zamberlani can be recognized for the weeds, flowers or ribbons they wear on their clothes. The difference could simply be the carrying of a flower on the right rather than on the left or wearing the scarf in one way as opposed to the other. Particularly in the second half of the 15th century Venetian authorities try in vain to ban the use of these symbols. The city of Udine itself is split into areas of influence to the extent that, when the conflict becomes more serious it becomes impossible for the member of a faction to cross a road controlled by the opponents without risking his life. Even the smallest town can become the grounds for conflict.

The feud between the two factions begins during the patriarchal period and will end in 1568 with a sumptuous peace ceremony in Venice. In the meantime, the only law apparently able to regulate the relationship between the Strumieri and Zam-

berlani is that of a vengeance that leaves behind a long strand of death. It often happens that the methods of proclamation used to push the most violent members of the two factions away from Friuli have the mere effect of taking the feud outside the boundaries of the Region. The apex of the conflict coincides with the arrival of Antonio Savorgnan (1457 – 1512) at the head of the Zamberlani.

The feud between the Strumieri and Zamberlani is certainly the most well known, long lasting and bloody, but it is not the only one taking place in Friuli. Only in the second half of the XVI century, in fact, we see the fight between the faction of the Mantica family and the one including the Ricchieri, Domenichini and Gregoris families in Pordenone, while in the town of Cividale we find the factions led by the di Manzano against the de Puppi. The culture of the feud and vengeance has had long life in Friuli, involving not only the clans of nobility but also rural communities.



LA VUERE JENFRI VIGNESIE E L'IMPERI

A ingredeâ inmò di plui la situazion dal Friûl ta chei agns e je la vuere jenfri Vignesie e l'Imperi. Il conflit tra la Republiche di S. Marc e i Asburcs al tache intal 1508 e al va indenant a sangloç fin al 1516. Ta chescj agns la Patrie dal Friûl e ven cjapade e molade dai doi esercits plui di une volte. Dopo di un prin sucès intal 1508, la Republiche di Vignesie si cjate denant di une coalizion di stâts che si son dâts dongje inte Leghe di Cambrai: ta cheste seconde dade de vuere, che e va dal 1509 al 1510, Vignesie e piert buine part dai siei possès di tiereferme, ma e rive po a recuperâju. La ultime dade de vuere, che e va de Sierade dal 1511 al 1516, e je segnade di diviers mudaments di aleancis; sul imprin i imperiâi a cjapin ancjemò une volte cuasi dut il Friûl, ma pôc plui tart a àn di bandonâ lis lôr conquistis. In Friûl la vuere, plui che di grandis bataiis in cjamp viert, e je segnade massime des scorsadis di grups piçui di soldâts che a fischin i paîs e i teritoris dulintor. A paiâ il presit plui alt, duncje, e je la int des campagnis. Il storic Nicolò Guicciardini, che al vîf propite ta chei agns, al conte che il Friûl *"al ven assaltât mo dai venezians, mo dai todescs; prime difindût e po predât dai nobii dal paîs; e intant che chescj si fasin indenant e chei altris si ritirin, o il contrari, si sint dome a fevelâ di muarts, robariis e fûcs; e al sucêt dispès che un lûc che prime al è stât fiscât di une part al ven po fiscât e brusât di chê altre"*. A compagnâ cheste devastazion, cun di plui, a son dispès ancje lis epidemiis di gjandusse.

WAR BETWEEN VENICE AND THE EMPIRE

To further worsen the situation for Friuli throughout those years is the war between Venice and the Empire. The conflict between the St. Marco Republic and the Ausburgs starts in 1508 and continues until 1516 with periods of truce and battle. Throughout these years the Region of Friuli is occupied or lost more than once by the two military troops. After a first success in 1508 the Republic of Venice has to face a coalition of states that had got together as the League of Cambrai. It is during this second phase of the war, between 1509 and 1510, that Venice loses a great part of its dry land properties, being able to reclaim them some time later. The last phase of the war, from the fall of 1511 to 1516, is characterized by variable alliances. During this period the imperials take over a

good part of Friuli once again but are then forced to give up their conquests one more time. Rather than great field battles the war in Friuli is characterized by small raids that destroy each territory they cross. The rural population is the one who suffers most as a result of this. The historian Nicolò Guicciardini, who lives through these events, tells that Friuli is *"assaulted at times by Venetians at times by Germans; at times it is defended while other times it is seized by the gentlemen of the country; and with some taking over while others retreating, depending upon the situation, one could hear of nothing but death, pillages and fires, often happening that a town sacked and pillaged by some was then sacked and burnt by others"*. In addition, the plague often accompanied this devastation.





IL RIVIEL DE JOIBE GRASSE

Ai 27 di Fevrâr, intal colm dal Carnevâl, la citât di Udin e je plene di int rivade ancje des vilis dulintor. Une colone di contadins de Cernidis che e torne di une sbrisse fûr de citât, là che e jere stade segnalade la presince di soldâts imperiâi, si cjate tal mieç di une barufe tra i partidants des dôs fazions nobiliârs. E je la falisce che e invie il fûc dal riviel.

I contadins e i popolârs udinês, cul jutori dai partidants dal Savorgnan, a dan l'assalt ai palaçs dai nobii, ju metin al sac e ju brusin. Sui nobii che no rivin a scjampâ si sbroche fûr une asse che e à lidrîs lontanis. Ta cheste maniere a pierdin la vite diviers dai rapresentants principâi dal partît strumîr tant che Aluvîs, Isidôr e Nicolò Torians, e Fidri e Teseu di Colorêt.

La citât e reste par trê dîs intes mans dai rivoltôs. Il lutignint venezian, intant, si siere in cjistiel in spiete di jutoris militârs che a tachin a rivâ cui prins di Març. Lis primis a jentrâ a Udin a son lis trupis logadis a Gardiscje, ma soldâts venezianis a rivin ancje di Trevîs e di altris lûcs de Republiche. Dut câs, se in citât e torne la calme, il riviel aromai si è za slargjât.

I contadins furlans a cjapin, a metin a sac e a brusin cjistiei e palaçs ator pe Patrie dal Friûl. A colâ sot di chescj atacs a son i cjistiei di Breçà, Cergneu, Cjaurià, Colorêt di Montalban, Cusan, Çopule, Darcjan, Feagne, Murûs, Pavone, Porpêt, S. Denêl, Spilimberc, Susans, Tarcint, Vilalte e Voleson, intant che si salvin a fature chei di Çuc, Frate, Mels e Pêrs. I rivoltôs a dan l'assalt a diviers palaçs nobiliârs di Glemone, Tumieç e Vençon. Scuintris e disordins a vegnin segnalâts ancje a Codroip, Cordovât, Madrîs, Prampar, Puart, Salvarûl, Tresesin e Var.

On February 27, at the apex of Carnival, the city of Udine is swarmed with people coming from nearby towns. A group of peasants from the Cernide who were coming back from a reconnaissance outside the city where imperial soldiers had been seen, finds itself in the middle of a fight between the two noble factions. It is the spark that sets off the beginning of the revolt.

The peasants and the working class of Udine with the help of the partisans of Savorgnan assault, sack and set on fire the aristocracy's palaces. An anger whose roots go deep into the past falls on nobles who are not able to escape. As a result, various head representatives of the Strumiero party such as Alvise, Isidoro and Nicolò Della Torre, as well as Federico and Teseo Colloredo lose their lives.

The city remains hostage of the rebels for three days. In the meantime the Venetian deputy locks himself up in the castle waiting for military

THE FAT THURSDAY REVOLT

help, which arrives at the beginning of March. The first to march into Udine are the troops who control the fortress of Gradisca d'Isonzo, but Venetian soldiers also come from Treviso and other locations of the Republic. Peace is back in town but the revolt has already spread throughout Friuli.

Friulian peasants sack and set on fire numerous castles and palaces. The castles of Arcano, Brazzacco, Caporiacco, Cergneu, Colloredo di Monte Albano, Cusano, Fagagna, Moruzzo, Pavana, Porpetto, S. Daniele, Spilimbergo, Susans,

Il Friûl al bruse par di ca e par di là dal Tiliment, cuasi che la popolazion rurâl si fos metude adun intun unic front in lote. Dut câs, dopo dal prin moment di sorprese, la reazion no si fâs spietâ. La nobiltât furlane e tire dongje oms intal Friûl occidentâl e, dopo di un scuintri sui magrêts de Ciline, e fâs scjampâ lis bandis dai rivoltôs.

I oms mandâts dal Consei dai Dîs a rivin a cuietâ la situazion cuasi pardut. La epidemie di gjandusse e il taramot che a rivin pôc plui tart a dan il colp finâl ae rivolte. Chel istès, la tension e reste vive ancjemò a dilunc in cetantis comunitâts rurâls là che, daûr di diviersis testimonianceis, si impedîs cu la fuarce la jentrade di nobii e citadins. Chestis formis di resistance, intune cu la dibisugne che Vignesie e à ancjemò dal jutori des Cernidis cuintri dai imperiâi, a evitin che la repression e finissi intun lâc di sanc.

I Strumîrs a provin a butâ dute la colpe intor di Antoni Savorgnan, ma la inchieste puartade indenant dal delegât di Vignesie, Andrea Loredan, no palese responsabilitâts diretis intal riviell. Cundut achel il Savorgnan al decît di passâ tal cjamp imperiâl: une decision che i gjave dal dut lis simpatiis che ancjemò al veve a Vignesie e che no lu salve dal svindic dai avversaris che, intal Març dal 1512, lu copin a Vilac. Te memorialistiche di chei agns, scrite pe plui part di Strumîrs, i rivoltôs a vegin piturâts tant che pipinots intes mans dal Savorgnan.

Tarcento, Valvasone, Villalta and Zoppola thus fall, while others such as the castles of Fratta, Mels, Pers and Zucco are barely spared. The rebels also assault numerous noble palaces in the towns of Gemona, Tolmezzo and Venzone. The revolt has also its effects upon the towns of Codroipo, Cordovado, Madrisio, Portogruaro, Prampero, Salvarolo, Tricesimo and Varmo.

Friuli burns both to the East and West of the Tagliamento river as if the rural population had united in a unique battle front. However, after getting over the initial surprise, the reaction is quite immediate. The Friulian nobility gathers soldiers throughout Western Friuli and after a fight in the bed of the Cellina river it splits up the rebels among various locations. The men sent by the Consiglio dei Dieci (Council of Ten) are able to bring peace back almost everywhere. The final blow to the revolt is then given by the plague and the earthquake shortly after. Despite all this, tension remains high for a long time in many rural communities where, according to some, the entrance to nobles and townspeople is blocked by force. These forms of resistance along with Venice's need for support

from the Cernide in the war against the imperials kept the repression from ending up in bloodshed.

The Strumieri try to inculcate Antonio Savorgnan for everything but the investigation led by the Venetian representative Andrea Loredan does not show any direct responsibility on his part. Yet the Savorgnan man does not feel at ease and decides to move to the imperials' side—a decision that makes him lose any type of support from Venice and works against him when, in 1512, he is killed by his enemies in Villach.

In the memorials of that particular period, mainly written by authors tied to the Strumieri, the rebels are represented as puppets in the hands of the Savorgnan. Witnesses who lived through these events however, portray a more complex scene. The Zamberlain Nicolò Monticoli tells that Friulian peasants were pushed by the desire to "*castigar et domar castellani*" ("punish and tame the lords"), but documents of that period usually pay no attention to the motivations of the rural population. It happens, however, that when reading some of the descriptions of the facts we get the impres-

Dut cās lis testimoneancis di chei fats a mostrin un cuadri plui complès. Il çambarlan Nicolò Monticul al scrîf che i contadins furlans a vevin chê di *"cjastiâ e domeâ i cjistielans"*, ma i documents di chei agns no mostrin cuasi nissune atenzion pes resons dai popolazion rurâl.

Chel istès, almancul in cierts cās, al somee di cjatâsi denant di contadins organizâts intune sorte di bandis di vuerilie: un tant, cun dute probabilitât, al jere pussibil in graciis di chês struturis organizativis che za a esistevin, ven a dî i sistemis di autoguvier des comunitâts rurâls e lis Cernidis. In diviers documents al pâr di capî che la fuarce principâl intal assalt cuintri di un cjistiel e rivàs propite dai oms che a vivevin sot di chê jurisdizion. Ae fin si à la impression che, cun chescj atacs, lis comunitâts rurâls furlanis a vessin chê di mostrâ ai cjistielans che a jerin buinis di difindi anje cu la fuarce chei *"dirits antîcs"* che la nobiltât e cirive di usurpâ.

Il rivièl dal 1511 in Friûl si pues duncje calcolâlu tant che il moment plui alt di un conflit sociâl e, intune cierte misure anje politic, che al à lidrîs plui antighis e che al larà indenant ancjemò a dilunc. Al è ta cheste suaze che a jentrin i tentatîfs dai rapresentants des comunitâts rurâls par condizionâ la lôr poie militâr a Vignesie daûr dal rispîet dai dirits e dai ûs tradizionâi. Achi e cjate lis sôs fondis anje la nassite de Contadinance, un organism di rapresentance des comunitâts rurâls furlanis che nol cjate pareli ator pe Europe.

sion that the peasants act almost like guerrillas. It was an ability that had probably developed due to the organizational structures already existent at the time, starting with the self governing systems of rural communities and with the Cemide. In certain documents it is said that the main nucleus of the assailants was made up of subjects of the jurisdiction in which the attack took place. Hence the impression is that through these actions Friulian rural communities wished to show the lords that they were able to defend by force, if necessary, those

"ancient rights" that the nobility was trying to usurp. From 1511 the revolt in Friuli can be considered the most violent moment of a social and in part political conflict having more ancient origins and which will continue for a long time.

At the same time representatives of rural communities try to condition their military support in Venice in the respect of rights and traditions. It is here that the Contadinanza (Peasantry), a system of representation of Friulian rural communities unlike any other in Europe, sets its roots.



FÛCS ATOR PE EUROPE

Vie pal secul XVI la Europe e je scjassade di cetantis rivoltis populârs. Lis resons che a impiin chescj fûcs a son diviersis, par cierts aspiets – massime chei sociâi – si svicinin a chês che a son daûr al riviel de Joibe Grasse, invezit par altris – par esempi chei religjôs – a son lontanis dal câs furlan. In ogni câs, il Friûl si mostre part vive des dinamichis europeanis di chest secul.

Cualchi mêś dopo di chel furlan, a son simpri lis autoritâts venezianis a vê di frontâ un riviel sclopât in Dalmazie. La violence e partis de citât di Šibenik e de isule di Vis, ma si slargje po in diviersis localitâts dalmatis. Dopo di une prime reazion avonde clipe, lis autoritâts venezianis a metaran in at une repression une vore dure leade ancje ae esperience madressude in Friûl.

Tal 1514 une gruesse insurezion populâr si svilupe in Transilvanie, che ta chei agns e fâs part dal ream de Ongjari. Achì, sot de vuide di György Dózsa, un esercit formât pe plui part di contadins che sul imprim al veve di combati cuintri dai tures si mōf invezit cuintri de nobiltât locâl. Dopo di diviers sucès, lis trupis contadinis a vegnin batudis dongje di Timișoara e György Dózsa al ven torturât e copât cun cetancj dai siei oms.

During the 16th century Europe experiences numerous popular rebellions. Many are the causes which fed these fires. Under certain aspects – particularly the social ones—they were quite similar to those that led to the Fat Thurs-

day revolt, whereas other reasons such as religion see no connection with the Friulian episode. Nevertheless, Friuli seems to have great relevance in the European dynamics of this historical period.

A few months after the event that took place in Friuli Venetian authorities have to face a new revolt in Dalmatia. The violent conflicts begin in the city of Šibenik and on the island of Vis to then spread out towards other locations on the Dalmatian coast. After a subtle reaction based upon the previous

THE FLAMES OF THE REVOLT IN EUROPE

experience in Friuli the Republic decides to intervene with a violent repression.

In 1514 a widespread popular rebellion takes place in Transylvania—at the time part of the Hungarian Empire—where a legion led by György Dózsa predominantly made up of peasants initially drafted to fight the Turks points its weapons towards the Hungarian nobility. After a series of successes the peasant troops are defeated near Timișoara and György Dózsa is tortured and killed

Tal 1515 lis flamis dal rivièl a brusin la Slovenie, là che i contadins prime di jessi batûts a rivin a conquistâ diviers cjistiei. Une rivolte in mò plui grande e sclopàra intal 1573 intun teritori a cjaval tra Slovenie e Cravuzie.

Tra il 1524 e il 1526 lis vueris contadinis a savoltin i principâts todescs, là che daûr des insurezions si incrosin motivazions sociâls e religiosis. La part plui gruess de rivolte si siere tal Mai dal 1525 cu la sconfite dai contadins a Frankenhäusen e cul sassinament dal predicjadôr protestant Thomas Müntzer. I ultins fûcs des vueris contadinis todescjis si ju cjate tra lis monts dal Tiròl là che, sot de vuide di Michael Gaismair, i popolans in armis a domandin la abolizion dai privileçs de nobiltât e de glesie e la paritât di ducj denant de leç.

along with many of his men. In 1515 the flames of the rebellion burn Slovenia where the peasants, prior to their defeat, conquer numerous castles. An even more widespread rebellion breaks out in 1573, comprising a wide territory between what is now Slovenia and Croatia.

Between 1524 and 1526 the peasant wars that break out for various social and religious reasons, shake German principalities. The greatest

part of the revolt ends in May 1525 with the defeat of the peasants in Frankenhäusen and the murder of the protestant preacher Thomas Müntzer.

The last bits of German peasant wars break down among the mountains of Tyrol where armed common people led by Michael Gaismair demand the abolition of ecclesiastic and noble privileges as well as equality before the law for everyone.



IL CARNEVÂL

Il rivièl al sclope e si svilupe propit intal colm dal Carnèvâl. Nol è duncje di maraveâsi se i rituâi di cheste fieste, cun dute la sô clime di trasgression, si misclicin cul rivièl e cu la faide tra Strumîrs e Çambarlans e a segnin ancje la lôr memorie. La brutalitât cuasi rituâl di cierts sassinaments, di fat, e riclame sei i elements de vendete, sei chei dal Carnèvâl, par rivâ a di une sorte di “cjoche dal sanc e de cjar”. Se i partidants des dôs fazions in lote a jerin za usâts a identificâsi cun simbui specifics, il Carnèvâl cui siei travestiments e lis sôs mascaris di une bande al lassave inmò plui spazi ae esibizion sfaçade di une cierte identitât, e di chê altre al ufrive la pussibilitât di colpî cualchidun platantsi daûr di une altre identitât. I bants dâts fûr des autoritâts par impedî abûs e ecès no coventavin. Plui voltis si veve cirût di impedî l’ûs di travestiments di stamp militâr – la cussì clamade “scaramate” – ma al jere dut dibant.

E je almancul dal Cincent la detule furlane che e dîs “*Il prin di di Inseri al è sant Pas, il secont sant Crepâ, e il tierç sant Sclop*”. Inseri al è il non antîc dai ultins dîs di Carnèvâl. I sants no son chei de liturgjie catoliche – che si fasarà sintî plui innà cu la Cuaresime – ma chei de fieste sfonsade, dal mangjâ fin a passisi, a crepâ e a sclopâ. Se riferide al rivièl de Joibe Grasse, cheste detule e cjape sù altris significâts là che il “crepâ” (in chest câs dai avversaris) plui che un sant di “preâ” al devente un at reâl.

Il Carnèvâl al jentre po te coreografie dal rivièl, massime a Udin, là che te domenie i rivoltôs a sfilin pes stradis de citât mascarâts cui vistîts puartâts vie ai siôrs e clamantsi tra di lôr cui nons dai proprietaris di chei vistîts. Un episodi che Gregori Amaseu al descrîf tant che un mont savoltât, metût sotsore. Une raprezentazion che plui vive no si pues dal spirt savoltadôr dal Carnèvâl. Une sene che dal sigûr e je lade dilunc a fâ pôre par une vore di timp ae nobiltât furlane e forsit no dome a chê.

The Friulian insurrection bursts and develops right in the apex of Carnival. It is no wonder then that the rituals featuring this transgressive celebration blend in with those of the revolt and the feud leaving memory of them behind.

The nearly ritualized brutality of certain slaughters in fact recalls the nature of vengeance as well as that of Carnival, making it a sort of “exhilaration of blood and flesh”.

If the partisans of the two feuding factions were already accustomed to identifying themselves with specific symbols, Carnival, with its costumes and masks, on one hand leaves even more room to a blunt display of one’s idealisms, on the other it makes it easier to target the enemy while hiding behind a false identity. The proclamations emitted

CARNIVAL

by authorities to impede abuses and excesses falls apart: numerous attempts to ban the use of military-like costumes –the so-called “scaramatta”-- are made, all unsuccessful.

The following Friulian saying goes back to at least the 16th century : “*Il prin di di Inseri al è sant Pas, il secont sant Crepâ, e il tierç sant Sclop*”¹. “Inseri” is the name given in ancient times to the last days of Carnival. Obviously, the saints are not part of Catholicism –which instead imposes its ru-

¹ The first day of “Inseri” is Saint Feeding, the second is Saint Dying and the third is Saint Bursting.



les during Lent – but they refer to wild partying, eating till you're filled up, die and burst. But speaking of the Fat Thursday revolt embedded in this is a yet more negative message in which "dying" (of the enemy) becomes an act to carry out rather than a saint to summon. Carnival becomes the choreography of rebellion, particularly in Udine, where the Sunday following the revolt peasants and common people parade down the streets

of the city wearing clothes taken from the nobles and calling each other by the names of the former owners of those garments. It is an episode that Gregorio Amaseo describes as an upside down world: *"a guisa che 'l fusse reversato 'l mondo"*. A more vivid representation of the subversive spirit of Carnival is difficult to imagine. It is a scene that has certainly disturbed Friulian nobility (and not only) for quite a long time.



LIS CERNIDIS

Dongje dai soldâts di profession e di chei mercenaris, massime in timp di vuere o in câs di pericol, in diviers stâts europeans, a vignivin dopradis ancje miliziis teritoriâls. Sot di Vignesie il Friûl al jere clamât a contribuî ae organizazion militâr de Republiche cu lis Taiis (za in vore in ete patriarcjine e formadis pe plui part di cavalîrs e balestrîrs), ma ancje cun oms pes galeis, grups di bombardîrs e cu lis Cernidis, ven a stâi miliziis contadinis formadis di oms tra i 18 e i 36 agns. Par solit lis Cernidis furlanis a jerin organizadis su cinc compagniis, là che però no si calcolavin lis miliziis de Cjargne e chês des valadis slovenis dal Friûl che a jerin impleadis dome a nivel locâl pe difese dai pas alpins. Pal plui a jerin armadis in maniere lizere: a vevin pichis, alabardis e altris armis di tai, ma ancje arcabûs e, plui indenant tal timp, moschets. Sul finî dal secul XVI lis compagniis a jerin formadis plui o mancûl di cinccent oms ognidune, ma il numar dai contadins reclutâts nol jere simpri stât compagn. Tal 1553, par esempi, si fevele di 1885 oms; tal 1510 invezit, in plene vuere cuintri dal Imperi, Luigi da Porto al conte di une adunance cun sîs mil di lôr. Intes zornadis dal riviel, tal incjampament fûr des muris di Udin, a saressin stâts tra mil e cinccent e doi mil oms des Cernidis. Ta chescj agns a comandâls al è propit Antoni Savorgnan. La existence des Cernidis e je impuartante pal svilup di leams continuatîfs tra lis diviersis comunitâts rurâls furlanis. Cun di fat l'oblic di dâsi dongje plui voltis par mostris o par esercitâsi al creave occasions di incuintri e al permeteve di inviâ rapuarts plui strents tra oms che a rivavin di paîs diviers. La presince di miliziis contadinis e incresseve po la fuarce des comunitâts rurâls intai rapuarts cun chei altris sogjets e, intun moment là che Vignesie e veve bisugne di soldâts, ancje cu lis autoritâts de Republiche. Ducj elements che, adun cul possès di armis e cul ûs di tatichis militârs za provadis sul cjamp, dal sigûr a àn dât un contribût no di pôc ancje intes zornadis dal riviel.

In addition to professional soldiers and mercenaries, especially in case of war or danger, different European

states also used local troops. During the Venetian period Friuli was called upon to give its contribution to the military organization of the Republic with the so-called Taglie (heritage of the patriarchal period mainly made up of knights and crossbowmen) as well as men on galleys, groups of bombardiers and the Cernide, peasant troops made up of men between the ages of 18 and 36.

The Friulian Cernide were usually made up of five groups that did not include troops from Carnia and Friulian Slavia, busy almost exclusively in defending mountain passes. They carried a light equipment – pikes, halberds and other bladed weapons – as well as harquebus and eventually muskets. Towards the end of the 16th century the groups comprised about five hundred men each, whereas the number of peasants drafted was not always the same. In 1553, for instance, they mention 1885 men; but in 1510, during the war against

THE CERNIDE

the Empire, Luigi da Porto claims there were six thousand. In the days of the rebellion, in the Cernide camps just outside the city walls of Udine, there were anywhere between one thousand five hundred and two thousand men led, at the time, by Antonio Savorgnan. The existence of the Cernide is important for the development of stable relationships among the various Friulian rural communities. The obligation to meet up with a certain continuity for meetings or drills is an occasion to meet and strengthen relationships among men coming from different locations. The presence of peasant troops also increases the contractual strength of rural communities in the relationships with the other people during a time in which Venice needs soldiers, also with the same authorities as the Republic. These are elements which, together with weapon availability and military tactics already experimented on the battlefield, had a significant role in the revolt.



LIS FONTS

Di là des ricostruzioni dai stories, lis testimoneancis principâls sul riviel de Joibe Grasse a rivin de memorialistiche di chei agns. Lis dôs descriziions plui detaiadis a son chês di Gregori Amaseu (*Historia della crudel zobia grassa et altri nefarii excessi et horrende calamità intervenute in la città di Udine et Patria del Friuli del 1511*) e di Nicolò Monticul (*Descrittione del sacco – 1511 – seguito nella Città d'Udine*). Il prin, cundut des lidrîs çambarlanis de sô famee, al è leât ai Strumîrs; il secont, invezit, al è un dai oms plui dongje di Antoni Savorgnan.

Altris descriziions, une vore plui in struc, si lis cjate tra i scrits dal cjaluni Augustin di Colorêt (*Notizie di guerra, del tumulto udinese e morte di Antonio e Nicolò Savorgnan*), membri di une des fameis plui impuartantis dal front strumîr, e tra chei dal nodâr udinês Antoni Belon (*De clade Turriana*). Altris testimoneancis di contemporanis si lis cjate tai Diaris dal storic venezian Marin Sanudo, tes letaris di Luigi da Porto, om di armis visentin nevôt di Antoni Savorgnan, e in pôcs altris tescj.

Intai scrits di chei agns, duncje, o cjatin sei autôrs strumîrs che çambarlans. Dut câs il test che al à cjatât plui bon acet tra i autôrs seguitîfs al è chel dal Amaseu che, par diviers secui, al è stât tignût di font primarie par descrivi i acjadiments de Joibe Grasse e al à cussì condizionât a fuart la leterature dedicate al riviel, indreçantle su posizions che a riclamin chês dai Strumîrs.

Let aside the reconstruction by historians, the main testimonies concerning the Fat Thursday revolt come from the memo-

rials of that period. The two most detailed descriptions we found were written by Gregorio Amaseo (*Historia della crudel zobia grassa et altri nefarii excessi et horrende calamità intervenute in la città di Udine et Patria del Friuli del 1511*) and Nicolò Monticoli (*Descrittione del sacco – 1511 – seguito nella Città d'Udine*). The first, despite his family's ties to the Zamberlani, is related to the Strumieri, whereas the second is one of the men close to Antonio Savorgnan. Other more succinct descriptions can be found among the writings of the canon Agostino Colloredo (*Notizie di guerra, del tumulto udinese e morte di Antonio e Nicolò Savorgnan*), spokesman of one of the most notorious families on the Strumieri side and the Notary Public from Udine

THE HISTORICAL SOURCES

Antonio Belloni (*De clade Turriana*). Additional evidence contemporary to the facts is gathered in the Diaries of the Venetian historian Marin Sanudo, in the letters of Luigi da Porto, a soldier from Vicenza, nephew of Antonio Savorgnan, and in few other texts.

These are texts that come from Strumieri and Zamberlani authors, but the writing that has achieved the greatest success among the authors that came thereafter is that of Amaseo, for various centuries the main source to cling to, to describe the events of Fat Thursday. This has thus influenced the literature dedicated to the topic orienting it towards the theses sustained by the Strumieri.





LA MEMORIE POPOLÂR

I documents di chei agns a dan vòs ai rapresentants des dôs fazions in lote – Strumîrs e Çambarlans – e ancje a chei di Vignesie, ma a lassin fûr la version dai fats dai protagoniscj anonims di chel riviel, ven a dî i contadins furlans. In mancjance di testimonieancis diretis, par savê alc des lôr resons e dai lôr compuartaments o vin di poiâsi su cualchi element rigjavât dai documents uficiâi – e duncje mediât – o ben su lis interpretazions che i storicis a rigjavin dal exam dai documents di chê ete. Dut câs, un dai elements che dispès i storicis no cjapin in considerazion al è chel de memorie populâr. Chest par vie che si trate di une font avonde malsigure e inte plui part dai câs dificile di leâ a fats e a personaçs precîs.

Inte narrative populâr furlane o cjatin cetantis contis che a fevelin des violencis dai cjistielans e di cjistiei sdrumâts. No sin in stât di dî cun plene sigurece se chestis storiis, là che si misturin ancje etis storichis diviersis, a son leadis al riviel de Joibe Grasse, ma dal sigûr chest acjadiment al à segnât a dilunc ancje la memorie populâr dai furlans. Juste par fâ un esempli, nol è tant che a Manzan e je stade tirade sù une conte là che si fevele dai abûs che cjistielans di Puriessin a fasevin cuintri de int dal puest: *“la int – e dîs la conte – no podeve plui di sopuartâ lis angariis di chescj cjistielans, a àn pensât di fâ une rivoluzion e butâju jù.”* Dopo vê spiegât il truc che la int dal puest e veve metût in at par cjapâ di sorprese chei dal cjistiel, la storie e finis cul dî che “i

The documents of that period report the views of the representatives of the two feuding factions—Strumieri and Zamberlani – and of Venice, but neglect

the version of the anonymous protagonists of that rebellion, the Friulian peasants. Since direct testimonies are missing, to learn something more about their reasons and behaviours we must rely upon a type of reading that comes from the examination of official documents or by the interpretations proposed by historians according to the documents they have. One of the elements that historians rarely consider is the memory of the people. This is due to the fact that this particular source of information can be quite unreliable as it is often uncertain and difficult to relate to precise historical facts and people. In the popular Friulian narrative we find many stories that talk about destroyed castles and violence perpetrated by the lords. Of course we cannot state with certainty

THE MEMORY OF THE PEOPLE

that these stories in which elements from different periods are mixed are directly tied to the Fat Thursday revolt, but certainly such event has permanently marked the memory of the Friulian people. Just as an example, few years ago they have come upon a tale in Manzano that speaks of the abuses that the lords of Purgessimo committed against the local population: *“la int – the story tells – no podeve piû di sopuartâ lis angariis di chescj cjistielans, a àn pensât di fâ una rivoluzion e butâju jù”*. Upon revealing the amusement carried out by the locals to surprise the lords the story ends stating that *“i contadins a àn assaltât il cjistiel e a àn*

1 The people could no longer withstand the vexations by these lords, so they decided to start a rebellion to overturn them.

contadins a àn assaltât il cjistiel e a àn distrut e brusât sù dut.” Ta chestis storiis a discjadenâ la rabie de int e je cuasi simpri la violence fate dai cjistielans su lis fantatis dal paîs, ma in cierts câs si fevele ancje de reazion de int aes rabotis imponudis dai siôrs. Contis di cheste fate si lis cjate un pôc ator par dut il Friûl e al ven dificil di pensâ che daûr no vedin ancje une memorie dal riviel dal 1511.

Par secui a dilunc, i furlans a son stâts piturâts tant che int pronte al riviel e violente, une vore lontane dal stereotip dal *“salt, onest, lavoradôr”*. A justificâ cheste innomine no je stade dome la insurezion de Joibe Grasse, ma ancje tancj altris episodis di ribelisim che, ancje se in forme plui limitade, a son rivâts fin al secul XIX. Lis memoriis di chest stamp di furlans si puedin ancjemò cjatâ platadis framieç dal patrimoni des detulis e des cjantis popolârs: al è il câs di vilotis tant che *“O sù, sù che il mont si strucje / cualchidun lu dreçarà / la justizie e je fate a gucje / no si pues plui sopuartâ”* o *“E jo no, no pensi nuie / di vô bulo cortesan / o ai in cûl la vuestre entrade / us refudi il vuestri pan”*. Dome in trente agns, jenfri il 1480 e il 1510, o sin a cognossince di cuasi 800 sentencis dal lutignint venezian che a cjapin dentri passe 3.500 imputâts, la plui part omicidi, agression, feriment e trasgression dai bants. Al è facil alore di pensâ che al è propite ta chescj agns che a nassin detulis tant che *“Miôr i çafs daûr, che i predis denant”* e *“Ni par tuart, ni par reson si à di lassâsi meti in preson”*: come a dî miôr une vite di rebel o di bandit obleât a scjampâ che muart o in preson.

*distrut e brusât sù dut*². In these stories the violence committed on the local women by the lords is almost always the spark that sets off deep feelings of anger in the people, but in certain cases it is also the reaction to the hard jobs imposed by the lords. Such tales are found nearly everywhere in Friuli and it is difficult to think that none of them mention the 1511 revolt.

For many centuries Friulians have been described as violent people, ready for rebellion: an image that is quite far from the stereotype of the *“honest worker”*. This is not only supported by the Fat Thursday insurrection, but also by many other episodes of rebellion which continued, though in a more subtle way, until the 19th century. The memory of this kind of Friulian can still be found amid the vast patrimony of sayings and folk songs such as *“O sù, sù che il mont si strucje / cualchidun lu dreçarà / la justizie e je fate a gucje / no si pues*

plui sopuartâ” or *“E jo no, no pensi nuie / di vô bulo cortesan / o ai in cûl la vuestre entrade / us refudi il vuestri pan”*⁴. Looking only within the thirty years from 1480 to 1510 we know that in the region of Friuli there were nearly 800 sentences by the Venetian deputy involving over 3,500 prisoners mainly accused of murder, aggression, personal injury or law infringement. It is no wonder then that in this particular period proverbs such as *“Miôr i çafs daûr, che i predis denant”*⁵ and *“Ni par tuart, ni par reson si à di lassâsi meti in preson”*⁶ come to be as if to suggest that instead of death or prison, life as a rebel or criminal or bandit is preferable.

3 Look, look, the world's going upside down / someone will certainly straighten it up / justice is made of links (it can be tightened or loosened according to what's decided by who's in charge) / one can no longer stand it.

4 Not I, I think nothing / of you arrogant sir / I could care less about your income / and I refuse your charity.

5 Rather have the cops on our tail than the priests in front of us (leading the funeral).

6 Neither being right, nor being wrong we ought to give in to imprisonment.

2 The peasants assaulted the castle and then destroyed and burned everything.



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ISBN: 8890414022



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